

1774. 2.
H I S T O R Y

OF THE

D I S P U T E

WITH

A M E R I C A;

FROM ITS ORIGIN IN 1754.

WRITTEN IN THE YEAR 1774.

By JOHN ADAMS, Esq.

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M DCC LXXXIV.

H I S T O R Y

OF THE

DISPUTE WITH AMERICA.

I HAVE intimated my intention of pursuing the Tories through all their dark intrigues and wicked machinations; and to shew the rise and progress of their schemes for enslaving this country. The honour of inventing and contriving these measures, is not their due. They have been but servile copiers of the designs of Andross, Randolph, Dudley, and other champions of their cause towards the close of the last century. These latter Worthies accomplished but little; and their plans had been buried with them, for a long course of years, until in the Administration of the late Governor Shirley, they were revived, by the persons who are now principally concerned in carrying them into execution. Shirley was an enterprising

terprizing man; and having mounted, no matter by what means, to the Chair of this Province, he saw, in a young growing country, vast prospects opening before his eyes; and he conceived great designs of aggrandizing himself, his family, and his friends. Mr. Hutchinson and Mr. Oliver, the two famous Letter-Writers, were his principal Ministers.—Russell, Paxton, Ruggles, and a few others, were subordinate instruments.—Among other schemes, one was to raise a Revenue in America by authority of Parliament.

In order to effect their purpose, it was necessary to concert measures with the other Colonies. Dr. Franklin, who was known to be an active, and very able man, and to have great influence in the Province of Pennsylvania, was in Boston in the the year 1754, and Mr. Shirley communicated to him the profound secret, the great design of taxing the Colonies by Act of Parliament. This sagacious Gentleman, and distinguished Patriot, to his lasting honour, sent the Governor an answer in writing, with the following remarks upon his scheme. Remarks which would have discouraged any honest man from the pursuit. The remarks are these.

“ THAT

“ THAT the people always bear the burthen
 “ best, when they have, or think they have,
 “ some share in the direction.

“ THAT when public measures are generally
 “ distasteful to the People, the wheels of Go-
 “ vernment must move more heavily.

“ THAT excluding the people of America
 “ from all share in the choice of a grand
 “ Council for their own defence, and taxing
 “ them in Parliament, where they have no Re-
 “ presentative, would probably give extreme
 “ dissatisfaction.

“ THAT there was no reason to doubt the
 “ willingness of the Colonists to contribute for
 “ their own defence.

“ THAT the People themselves, whose all
 “ was at stake, could better judge of the force
 “ necessary for their defence, and of the means
 “ for raising money for the purpose, than a
 “ British Parliament at so great a distance.

“ THAT natives of America would be as
 “ likely to consult wisely and faithfully for
 “ the safety of their native country, as the
 “ Governors

" Governors sent from Britain, whose object
 " is generally to make fortunes, and then
 " return home; and who might therefore be
 " expected to carry on the war against France,
 " rather in a way by which themselves were
 " likely to be gainers, than for the greatest
 " advantage of the cause.

" THAT compelling the Colonies to pay
 " money for their own defence, without their
 " consent, would shew a suspicion of their
 " loyalty, or of their regard for their country,
 " or of their common sense; and would be
 " treating them as conquered enemies, and
 " not as free Britons, who hold it for their
 " undoubted right, not to be taxed but by their
 " own consent, given through their Represent-
 " tatives.

" THAT Parliamentary Taxes, once laid on,
 " are often continued, after the necessity for
 " laying them on ceases; but that if the Colo-
 " nists were trusted to tax themselves, they
 " would remove the burden from the people
 " as soon as it should become unnecessary for
 " them to bear it any longer.

" THAT if Parliament is to tax the Colonies,
 " their Assemblies of Representatives may be
 " dismissed as useless.

" THAT

“ THAT taxing the Colonies in Parliament,
 “ for their own defence against the French, is
 “ not more just, than it would be to oblige the
 “ Cinque Ports, and other coasts of Britain,
 “ to maintain a force against France, and to
 “ tax them for this purpose, without allowing
 “ them Representatives in Parliament.

“ THAT the Colonists have always been in-
 “ directly taxed by the Mother Country (be-
 “ sides paying the taxes necessarily laid on by
 “ their own Assemblies), in as much as they
 “ are obliged to purchase the manufactures of
 “ Britain, charged with innumerable heavy
 “ taxes; some of which manufactures they
 “ could make, and others could purchase
 “ cheaper at other markets.

“ THAT the Colonists are besides taxed by
 “ the Mother Country, by being obliged to
 “ carry great part of their produce to Britain,
 “ and accept a lower price than they might
 “ have at other markets. The difference is a
 “ tax paid to Britain.

“ THAT the whole wealth of the Colonists
 “ centers at last in the Mother Country, which
 “ enables her to pay her taxes.

“ THAT

“ THAT the Colonists have, at the hazard of
 “ their lives and fortunes, extended the domi-
 “ nions, and increased the commerce and riches
 “ of the Mother Country; that therefore the
 “ Colonists do not deserve to be deprived of
 “ the native right of Britons, the right of
 “ being taxed only by Representatives chosen
 “ by themselves.

“ THAT an adequate Representation in Par-
 “ liament would probably be acceptable to the
 “ Colonists, and would best unite the views
 “ and interests of the whole Empire.”

THE last of these Propositions seems not to
 have been well considered, because an adequate
 representation in Parliament is totally impracti-
 cable : But others have exhausted this subject,

WHETHER the Ministry at home, or the
 Junto here, were discouraged by these masterly
 remarks, or by any other cause, the project of
 taxing the Colonies was laid aside; Mr. Shirley
 was removed from his government, and Mr.
 Pownall was placed in his stead.

MR. Pownall was a friend to Liberty, and to
 our Constitution, and seems to have had an aver-
 sion to all plots against either, and consequently to
 have

have given his confidence to other persons than Hutchinson and Oliver, who, stung with envy against Mr. Pratt and others, who had the lead in affairs, set themselves, by propagating slanders against the Governor among the people, and especially among the clergy, to raise discontents, and make him uneasy in his seat. And Pownall, averse to wrangling, solicited to be recalled; and after some time, Mr. Bernard was removed from New Jersey to the Chair of this Province.

BERNARD was the man for the purpose of the Junto—educated in the highest principles of Monarchy, skilled enough in law and policy to do mischief, avaricious, and needy at the same time, having a numerous family to provide for—he was an instrument, suitable in every respect excepting one, for this Junto to employ. The exception I mean was blunt frankness, very opposite to that cautious cunning, that deep dissimulation, to which they had by long practice disciplined themselves. However, they did not despair of teaching him this necessary artful quality by degrees; and the event shewed they were not wholly unsuccessful in their endeavours to do it.

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While the War lasted, these simple Provinces were of too much importance in the conduct of it, to be disgusted by an open attempt against their liberties. The Junto, therefore, contented themselves with preparing their ground, by extending their connections and correspondencies in England, and by conciliating the friendship of the Crown Officers occasionally here, and insinuating their designs as necessary to be undertaken in some future favourable opportunity, for the good of the Empire, as well as of the Colonies.

THE designs of Providence are inscrutable. — It affords to bad men conjunctures favourable for their designs, as well as to good. — The conclusion of the Peace was the most critical opportunity for our Junto, that could have presented. — A Peace founded on the destruction of that system of policy, the most glorious for the nation that ever was formed, and which was never equalled in the conduct of the English Government, except in the Interregnum, and perhaps in the reign of Elizabeth; which system, however, by its being abruptly broken off, and its chief Conductor discarded before it was completed, proved unfortunate to the nation, by leaving it sinking in a bottomless gulph of debt, oppressed and borne down with taxes.

At

At this lucky time, when the British Financier was driven out of his wits, for ways and means to supply the demands upon him, Bernard is employed by the Junta, to suggest to him the project of taxing the Colonies by Act of Parliament.

I do not advance this without evidence: I appeal to a publication made by Sir Francis Bernard himself, the last year, of his own Select Letters on the Trade and Government of America, and the Principles of Laws and Policy applied to the American Colonies:

In the year 1764, Mr. Bernard transmitted home to different Noblemen and Gentlemen, four copies of his Principles of Law and Polity, with a Preface, which proves incontestibly, that the project of new regulating the American Colonies was not first suggested to him by the Ministry, but by him to them.—The words of this Preface are these:—"The present expectation that a new regulation of the American Governments will soon take place, probably arises more from the opinion the Public has of the abilities of the present Ministry, than from any thing that has transpired from the Cabinet. It cannot be supposed that their penetration can overlook the necessity of such a regulation, nor

their public spirit fail to carry it into execution. But it may be a question, whether the present is a proper time for this work; more urgent business may stand before it; some preparatory steps may be required to precede it; but these will only serve to postpone. As we may expect that this reformation, like all others, will be opposed by powerful prejudices, it may not be amiss to reason with them at leisure, and endeavour to take off their force before they become opposed to Government."

UPON these words, it is impossible not to observe, first, That the Ministry had never signified to him any intention of new regulating the Colonies; and therefore that it was he who officiously put them upon the pursuit of this Will-with-a-wisp, which has led them into so much mire. Second, The flattery with which he insinuates these projects into the minds of the Ministry, as matters of absolute Necessity, which their great penetration could not fail to discover, nor their great regard to the Public omit. Third, The importunity with which he urges a speedy accomplishment of his pretended reformation of the Governments. And, fourth, His consciousness that these schemes would be opposed, although he affects to expect from powerful prejudices only, that opposition which all

America

America says has been dictated by sound reason, true policy, and eternal justice. The last thing I shall take notice of is, the false insinuation, that such new regulations were then generally expected. This is so absolutely false, that except Bernard himself, and his Junto, scarcely any body on this side the water had any suspicion of it—insomuch, that if Bernard had made public at that time his Preface and Principles, as he sent them to the Ministry, it is much to be doubted, whether he could have lived in this Country; certain it is, he would have had no friends in this Province, out of the Junto.

THE intention of the Junto, was to procure a revenue to be raised in America by Act of Parliament. Nothing was further from their designs and wishes, than the drawing or sending this revenue into the Exchequer in England, to be spent there in discharging the National Debt, and lessening the burdens of the people there.—They chose to have the fingering of the money themselves.—Their design was, that the money should be applied, first in a large salary to the Governor. This would gratify Bernard, and render him and all other Governors, not only independent of the people, but still more absolutely a slave to the will of the Minister. They intended likewise a salary for the Lieutenant-
Governor.

tenant-Governor: This would appease Mr. Hutchinson. In the next place, they intended a salary to the Judges of Common Law, as well as Admiralty. And thus the whole Government, executive and judicial, was to be rendered wholly independent of the people; (and their Representatives rendered useless, insignificant, and even burthensome) and absolutely dependent upon, and under the direction of the will of the Minister of State.—They intended further to new model the whole Continent of North America; make an intire new division of it into distinct, though more extensive and less numerous Colonies, to sweep away all the Charters upon the Continent, with the destroying besom of an Act of Parliament, and reduce all the Governments to the plan of the Royal Governments, with a Nobility in each Colony, not hereditary indeed, at first, but for life.—They did indeed flatter the Ministry and people in England, with distant hopes of a revenue from America, at some future period, to be appropriated to national uses there. But this was not to happen, in their minds, for some time. The Governments must be new modelled, new regulated, reformed first, and then the Governments here would be able and willing to carry into execution any Acts of Parliament, or measures of the Ministry, for fleecing the people here to pay debts, or support pensioners

tioners on the American Establishment, or bribe Electors, or Members of Parliament, or any other purpose that a virtuous Ministry could desire.

BUT as ill-luck would have it, the British Financier was as selfish as themselves, and instead of raising money for them, chose to raise it for himself.—He chose to get the revenue into the Exchequer, because he had hungry cormorants enough about him in England, whose cawings were more troublesome to his ears, than the croaking of the ravens in America. And he thought if America could afford any revenue at all, and he could get it by authority of Parliament, he might have it himself, to give to his friends, as well as raise it for the Junta here, to spend themselves, or give to theirs.

I WILL proceed no further without producing my evidence.—Indeed, to a man who was acquainted with this Junta, and had an opportunity to watch their motions, observe their language, and remark their countenances, for these last twelve years, no other evidence is necessary : It was plain to such persons what this Junta was about. But we have evidence enough now under their own hands, of the whole of what was said of them by their opposers, through this whole period,

GOVERNOR

GOVERNOR BERNARD, in his letter, July 11, 1764, says, "That a general reformation of the American Governments would become not only a desirable but a necessary measure."

What his idea was, of a general reformation of the American Governments, is to be learnt from his Principles of Law and Polity, which he sent to the Ministry in 1764.—I shall select a few of them in his own words;

His 29th proposition is, "The rule that a British subject shall not be bound by laws, or liable to taxes, but what he has consented to by his Representatives, must be confined to the inhabitants of Great Britain only, and is not strictly true even there.—30. The Parliament of Great Britain, as well from its rights of Sovereignty, as from occasional exigencies, has a right to make laws for, and impose taxes upon its subjects in its external Dominions, although they are not represented in such Parliament. But, 31. Taxes imposed upon the external Dominions, ought to be applied to the use of the people from whom they are raised. 32. The Parliament of Great Britain has a right and duty to take care to provide for the defence of the American Colonies, especially as such Colonies are unable to defend themselves. 33. The Parliament

of

“ of Great Britain has a right and a duty to take
 “ care, that provision be made for a sufficient
 “ support of the American Governments. Be-
 “ cause, 34. The support of the Government
 “ is one of the principal conditions upon which
 “ a Colony is allowed the power of Legislation.
 “ Also, because, 35. Some of the American Co-
 “ lonies have shewn themselves deficient in the
 “ support of their several Governments, both
 “ as to Sufficiency and Independency.”

His 75th Proposition is, “ Every American
 “ Government is capable of having its Consti-
 “ tution altered for the better. 76. The grants
 “ of the powers of Governments to American
 “ Colonies, by Charters, cannot be understood
 “ to be intended for other than their infant or
 “ growing states. 77. They cannot be intend-
 “ ed for their mature state, that is, for perpe-
 “ tuity, because they are in many things uncon-
 “ stitutional, and contrary to the very nature of
 “ a British Government. Therefore, 78. They
 “ must be considered as designed only as tem-
 “ porary means for settling and bringing for-
 “ ward the peopling the Colonies, which being
 “ effected, the cause of the peculiarity of their
 “ Constitution ceases. 79. If the Charters can
 “ be pleaded against the authority of Parlia-
 “ ment, they amount to an alienation of the
 D “ Dominions

“ Dominions of Great Britain, and are, in effect,
 “ acts of dismembering the British Empire,
 “ and will operate as such, if care is not taken
 “ to prevent it. 83. The notion which has
 “ heretofore prevailed, that the dividing Ame-
 “ rica into many Governments, and different
 “ modes of Government, will be the means to
 “ prevent their uniting to revolt, is ill-found-
 “ ed; since, if the Governments were ever so
 “ much consolidated, it will be necessary to
 “ have so many distinct States, as to make a
 “ union to revolt impracticable. Whereas, 84.
 “ The splitting America into many small Go-
 “ vernments, weakens the Governing Power,
 “ and strengthens that of the People, and there-
 “ by makes revolting more probable, and more
 “ practicable. 85. To prevent revolts in fu-
 “ ture times (for there is no room to fear them
 “ in the present) the most effectual means would
 “ be to make the Governments large and re-
 “ spectable, and balance the powers of them.
 “ 86. There is no Government in America at
 “ present, whose Powers are properly balanced;
 “ there not being in any of them a real and
 “ distinct third Legislative Power, mediating
 “ between the King and the People, which is
 “ the peculiar excellence of the British Consti-
 “ tution. 87. The want of such a third Legis-
 “ lative Power adds weight to the Popular, and
 “ lightens

“ tightens the Royal Scale, so as to destroy
 “ the balance between the Royal and Popular
 “ Powers. 88. Although America is not now
 “ (and probably will not be for many years to
 “ come) ripe enough for an hereditary Nobili-
 “ ty, yet it is now capable of a Nobility for
 “ life. 89. A Nobility appointed by the King
 “ for life, and made Independent, would pro-
 “ bably give strength and stability to the Ame-
 “ rican Governments, as effectually as an here-
 “ ditary Nobility does to that of Great Britain.
 “ 90. The reformation of the American Go-
 “ vernments should not be controuled by the
 “ present boundaries of the Colonies; as they
 “ were mostly settled upon partial, occasional,
 “ and accidental considerations, without any
 “ regard to a whole. 91. To settle the Ame-
 “ rican Governments to the greatest possible
 “ advantage, it will be necessary to reduce the
 “ number of them; in some places to unite and
 “ consolidate, in others to separate and trans-
 “ fer; and in general to divide by natural
 “ boundaries, instead of imaginary lines. 92.
 “ If there should be but one form of Govern-
 “ ment established for all the North American
 “ Provinces, it would greatly facilitate the re-
 “ formation of them; since, if the mode of
 “ Government was every where the same,
 “ people would be more indifferent under what
 “ division

" division they were ranged. 93. No objec-
 " tions ought to arise to the alteration of the
 " boundaries of Provinces from Proprietors, on
 " account of their Property, only since there is
 " no occasion that it should in the least affect
 " the boundaries of Properties. 94. The pre-
 " sent distinction, of one Government being
 " more free, or more popular than another,
 " tend to embarrass and to weaken the whole;
 " and should not be allowed to subsist among
 " people subject to one King and one Law, and
 " all equally fit for one form of Government.
 " 95. The American Colonies, in general, are, at
 " this time, arrived at that state which quali-
 " fies them to receive the most perfect form of
 " Government, which their situation and rela-
 " tion to Great Britain, make them capable of:
 " 96. The people of North America, at this
 " time, expect a revival and reformation of the
 " American Governments, and are better dis-
 " posed to submit to it, than ever they were,
 " or perhaps ever will be again. 97. This is
 " therefore the proper and critical time, to re-
 " form the American Governments upon a ge-
 " neral, constitutional, firm, and durable plan;
 " and if it is not done now, it will probably
 " every day grow more difficult, till at last it
 " becomes impracticable."

" Government was more indifferent under what
 " division

Now

Now let me ask you—if the Parliament of Great Britain had all the natural foundations of authority, wisdom, goodness, justice, power, in as great perfection as they ever existed in any body of men since Adam's fall: And, if the English Nation was the most virtuous, pure, and free that ever was, would not such an unlimited subjection of three millions of people to that Parliament, at three thousand miles distance, be real slavery? There are but two sorts of men in the world, freemen and slaves—The very definition of a freeman, is one who is bound by no Law to which he has not consented.—Americans would have no way of giving or withholding their consent to the Acts of this Parliament; therefore they would not be freemen.—But, when luxury, effeminacy, and venality are arrived at such a shocking pitch in England; when both Electors and Elected are become one mass of corruption; when the Nation is oppressed to death with Debts and Taxes, owing to their own extravagance, and want of wisdom, what would be your condition under such an absolute subjection to Parliament? You would not only be slaves—but the most abject sort of slaves to the worst sort of masters!

MINISTERIAL Writers, conscious that the people of this Continent have the utmost abhorrence

rence of Treason and Rebellion, labour to avail themselves of the magic in these words.—But their artifice is vain.—The people are not to be intimidated by hard words, from a necessary defence of their Liberties :—Their attachment to their Constitution, so dearly purchased by their own, and their Ancestors blood and treasure ; their aversion to the late Innovations ; their horror of Arbitrary Power and the Romish Religion, are much deeper rooted than their dread of rude sounds, and unmannerly language. They do not want the advice of an honest Lawyer, (if such an one could be found,) nor will they be deceived by a dishonest one. They know what offence it is to assemble armed, and forcibly obstruct the course of Justice.—They have been many years considering and enquiring ; they have been instructed by Ministerial Writers and their friends, in the nature of Treason, and the consequences of their own principles and actions. They know upon what hinge the whole dispute turns. That the fundamentals of the Government over them, are disputed ; that the Minister pretends, and had the influence to obtain the voice of the last Parliament in his favour ; that Parliament is the only Supreme, Sovereign, Absolute, and Uncontroulable Legislative over all the Colonies ; that therefore the Minister, and all his Advocates, will call Resistance to
 Acts

Acts of Parliament, by the names of Treason and Rebellion. But at the same time, they know, that in their own opinions, and in the opinions of all the Colonies, Parliament has no authority over them, excepting to regulate their Trade; and this not by any principle of Common Law, but merely by the consent of the Colonies, founded on the obvious necessity of a Case, which was never in contemplation of that Law, nor provided for by it; that therefore they have as good a right to charge that Minister with Treason and Rebellion. For, if the Parliament has not a legal authority to overturn their Constitution, and subject them to such Acts as are lately passed, every man, who accepts of any Commission, and takes any steps to carry those Acts into execution, is guilty of overt Acts of Treason and Rebellion against his Majesty, as much as if he should take arms against his troops, or attempt his sacred life. They know that the resistance against the Stamp Act, which was made through all America, was, in the opinion of the Minister, High Treason; and that Brigadier Ruggles, and good Mr. Ogden, pretended at the Congress at New York, to be of the same mind, and have been held in utter contempt by the whole Continent ever since; because in their own opinion, that Resistance was a noble stand against
Tyranny,

Tyranny, and the only opposition to it which could have been effectual. That if the American resistance to the Act for destroying your Charter, and to the Resolves for arresting persons here and sending them to England for trial, is Treason, the Lords and Commons, and the whole Nation, were Traitors at the Revolution.

THEY know that all America is united in sentiment, and in the plan of opposition to the claims of Administration and Parliament. The Junto in Boston, with their little flocks of Adherents in the Country, are not worth taking into the account; and the Army and Navy, though these are divided amongst themselves, are no part of America: In order to judge of this Union, they began at the commencement of the Dispute, and run through the whole course of it.—At the time of the Stamp Act, every Colony expressed its sentiments by Resolves of their Assemblies; and every one agreed that Parliament had no right to Tax the Colonies. The House of Representatives of the Massachusetts Bay, then consisted of many persons, who have since figured as Friends to Government; yet every Member of that House concurred most cheerfully in the Resolves then passed. The Congress, which met that year at New York, expressed the same opinion in their Resolves,

Resolves, after the Paint, Paper, and Tea Act was passed. The several Assemblies expressed the same sentiments, and when your Colony wrote the famous Circular Letter, notwithstanding all the mandates and threats, and cajoling of the Minister and the several Governors, and all the Crown Officers through the Continent, the Assemblies, with one voice, echoed their entire approbation of that Letter, and their applause to your Colony for sending it.—In the year 1768, when a non-importation was suggested and planned, by a few Gentlemen at a private Club, in one of our large Towns, as soon as it was proposed to the Public, did it not spread through the whole Continent?—Was it not regarded like the Laws of the Medes and Persians, in all the Colonies?—When the Paint and Paper Act was repealed, the Southern Colonies agreed to depart from the Association in all things, but the dutied Articles; but they have kept strictly to their Agreement against importing them, so that no Tea has been imported into any of them from Great Britain to this day.—In the year 1770, when a number of persons were slaughtered in King-street, Boston, such was the brotherly sympathy of all the Colonies, such their resentment against an hostile Administration, that the innocent blood then

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spilt,

spilt, has never been forgotten, nor the murderous Minister and Governors, who brought the Troops here, forgiven by any part of the Continent, and never will be.—When a certain masterly Statesman invented a Committee of Correspondence in Boston, did not every Colony, nay every Country, City, Hundred and Town upon the whole Continent, adopt the measure—I had almost said, as if it had been a Revelation from above, as the happiest means of cementing the Union, and acting in concert? What proofs of Union have been given since the last March! Look over the Resolves of the several Colonies, and you will see that one understanding governs, one heart animates the Whole Body. Assemblies, Conventions, Congresses, Towns, Cities, and private Clubs and Circles, have been actuated by one great, wise, active, and noble spirit, one masterly soul, animating one vigorous body.

THE Congress at Philadelphia have expressed the same sentiments with the people of New England; approved of the opposition to the late innovations; unanimously advised us to persevere in it, and assured us, that if force is attempted to carry these measures against us, all America ought to support us. Maryland
and

and the Lower Counties on Delaware, have already, to shew to all the world their approbation of the measures of New England, and their determination to join in them, with a generosity, a wisdom and magnanimity, which ought to make the Tories consider, taken the power of the Militia into the hands of the people, without the Governor or Minister; and established it, by their own authority, for the defence of the Massachusetts, as well as of themselves. Other Colonies are only waiting, to see if the necessity of it will become more obvious. Virginia, and the Carolinas, are preparing for military defence, and have been for some time. When we consider the variety of climates, soils, religions, civil governments, commercial interests, &c. which were represented at the Congress, and the various occupations, educations, and characters, of the Gentlemen who composed it; the harmony and unanimity which prevailed in it, can scarcely be paralleled in any assembly that ever met. When we consider, that at the Revolution, such mighty questions as, Whether the Throne was vacant or not? And, Whether the Prince of Orange should be King or not? were determined in the Convention Parliament, by small majorities of two or three, and four or five only; the great ma-

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jorities,

majorities, the almost unanimity with which all great questions have been decided in your House of Representatives, and other Assemblies, and especially in the Continental Congress, cannot be considered in any other light than as the happiest omens; indeed, as providential dispensations in our favour, as well as the clearest demonstrations of the cordial, firm, radical, and indissoluble union of the Colonies.

THE grand aphorism of the policy of the Whigs has been, to unite the people of America, and divide those of Great Britain. The reverse of this has been the maxim of the Tories, viz. to unite the people of Great Britain, and divide those of America. All the movements, marches, and counter-marches of both Parties, on both sides of the Atlantic, may be reduced to one or the other of these Rules.—I have shewn that the people of America are united more perfectly than the most sanguine Whig could ever have hoped, or than the most timid Tory could have feared. Let us now examine whether the people of Great Britain are equally united against us. For, if the contending Countries were equally united, the prospect of success in the Quarrel would depend upon the comparative wisdom, firmness, strength, and
other

other advantages of each other. And, if such a comparison was made, it would not appear to a demonstration that Great Britain could so easily subdue and conquer.—It is not so easy a thing for the most powerful State to conquer a Country a thousand leagues off.—How many years time, how many millions of money did it take, with five and thirty thousand men, to conquer the poor Province of Canada? And after all the battles and victories, it never would have submitted without a capitulation, which secured to them their Religion and Properties.

BUT we know that the people of Great Britain are not united against us.—We distinguish between the Ministry, the House of Commons, the Officers of the Army, Navy, Excise, Customs, &c. who are dependent on the Ministry, and tempted, if not obliged, to echo their voices; and the Body of the People. We are assured by thousands of Letters from persons of good intelligence, that the Body of the People are Friends to America, and wish us success in our struggles against the claims of Parliament and Administration. We know that millions in England and Scotland, will think it unrighteous, impolitic, and ruinous, to make war upon us. We know that London and Bristol, the

two greatest Commercial Cities in the Empire, have declared themselves in the most decisive manner, in favour of our Cause : So explicitly, that the former has bound her Members under their hands to assist us ; and the latter has chosen two known Friends of America, one attached to us by principle, birth, and the most ardent affection ; the other an able Advocate for us on several great occasions. We know that many of the most virtuous and independent of the Nobility and Gentry are for us, and among them, the best Bishop that adorns the Bench, as great a Judge as the Nation can boast, and the greatest Statesman it ever saw. We know that the Nation is loaded with Debts and Taxes, by the folly and iniquity of its Ministers, and that without the Trade of America, it can neither long support its Fleet and Army, nor pay the interest of its Debt.

BUT we are told, that the Nation is now united against us ; that they hold they have a right to Tax us, and Legislate for us, as firmly as we deny it. That we are a Part of the British Empire ; that every State must have an uncontrollable power co-extensive with the Empire ; that there is a little probability of serving ourselves by ingenious distinctions between external and
internal

internal Taxes. If we are not a part of the State, and subject to the supreme authority of Parliament, Great Britain will make us so; that, if this opportunity of reclaiming the Colonies is lost, they will be dismembered from the Empire; and although they may continue their allegiance to the King, they will own none to the Imperial Crown.

To all this I answer, That the Nation is not so united—that they do not so universally hold they have such a right; and my reasons I have given before. That the terms, “British Empire,” are not the language of the Common Law, but the language of News-papers and Political Pamphlets. That the Dominions of the King of Great Britain has no uncontrollable power co-extensive with them—I would ask by what Law the Parliament has authority over America? By the law of God, in the Old and New Testament, it has none—By the Law of Nature and Nations, it has none—By the Common Law of England, it has none. For the Common Law, and the authority of Parliament founded on it, never extended beyond the four seas.—By Statute Law, it has none; for no Statute was made before the settlement of the Colonies, for this purpose; and the Declaratory Act made
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in 1766, was made without our consent, by a Parliament which had no authority beyond the four seas. What religious, moral, or political Obligation then are we under, to submit to Parliament as a Supreme Legislative? None at all.—When it is said, that if we are not subject to the supreme authority of Parliament, Great Britain will make us so, all other Laws and Obligations are given up, and recourse is had to the *Ratio ultima* of Lewis XIVth, and the *suprema Lex* of the King of Sardinia; to the law of brickbats and cannon balls, which can be answered only by brickbats and balls.

THIS language, “ The Imperial Crown of Great Britain,” is not the stile of the Common Law, but of Court Sycophants. It was introduced in allusion to the Roman Empire, and intended to insinuate, that the Prerogative of the Imperial Crown of England was like that of the Roman Emperor, after the maxim was established, *quod principi placuit Legis habet vigorem*, and so far from including the two Houses of Parliament in the idea of this Imperial Crown, it was intended to insinuate that the Crown was absolute, and had no need of Lords or Commons, to make or dispense with Laws.—Yet even these Court Sycophants, when driven to an explanation,

tion, never dared to put any other sense upon the words Imperial Crown, than this, That the Crown of England was independent of France, Spain, and all other Kings and States in the world.

WHEN Ministerial Writers say, That the King's Dominions must have an uncontrollable Power, co-extensive with them, I ask whether they have such a Power or not? And utterly deny that they have by any Law, but that of Lewis the XIVth; and the King of Sardinia:—If they have not, and it is necessary that they should have, it then follows, that there is a Defect in what he calls the British Empire: And how shall this Defect be supplied?—It cannot be supplied consistently with reason, justice, policy, morality, or humanity, without the consent of the Colonies, and some new plan of connection. But if Great Britain will set all these at defiance, and resort to the *Ratio ultima*, all Europe will pronounce her a Tyrant, and America never will submit to her, be the danger of disobedience as great as it will.

BUT there is no need of any other Power than that of regulating Trade; and this the Colonies ever have been, and will be, ready and willing to concede to her.—But she will never obtain
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from America any further concession while she exists.

WE are then asked, "For what she protected
" and defended the Colonies against the Maritime Power of Europe, from their first settlement to this day?" I answer, for her own interest; because all the profits of our Trade centered in her lap.—But it ought to be remembered, that her Name, not her Purse, nor her Fleets and Armies, ever protected us, until the last War; and then the Minister who conducted that War informs us, that the Annual Millions from America enabled her to do it.

WE are then asked, for what she purchased New York of the Dutch? I answer, she never did.—The Dutch never owned it; were never more than Trespassers and Intruders there; and were finally expelled by conquest.—It was ceded, it is true, by the Treaty of Breda; and it is said in some Authors, that some other territory in India was ceded to the Dutch in lieu of it. But this was the transaction of the King, not of Parliament, and therefore makes nothing to the argument.—But admitting, for argument sake, what is not a supposable case, That the Nation should be so sunk in sloth, luxury, and corruption, as to suffer their Minister to persevere in
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his mad blunders, and send fire and sword against us, how shall we defend ourselves? The Colonies, south of Pennsylvania, have no men to spare, we are told.—But we know better.—We know that all those Colonies have a back country, which is inhabited by an hardy, robust people, many of whom are emigrants from New England, and habituated, like multitudes of New Englandmen, to carry their fuzees or rifles upon one shoulder to defend themselves against the Indians, while they carry their axes, scythes, and hoes upon the other, to till the ground.—Did not those Colonies furnish men the last War?—Did not Virginia furnish men, one regiment particularly, equal to any regular regiment in the service?—But “have you arms and ammunition?” I answer, we have; but, if we had not, we could make a sufficient quantity of both.—What should hinder?—We have many manufacturers of fire-arms now, whose arms are as good as any in the world. Powder has been made here, and may be again, and so may salt-petre. What should hinder?—We have all the materials in great abundance, and the process is very simple. But if we neither had them, nor could make them, we could import them.—But “the British Navy.”—Aye, there’s the rub.—But let us consider.—How many ships are taken to blockade Boston harbour?—

How many ships can Britain spare to carry on this humane and political War, the object of which is a pepper-corn? Let her send all the ships she has round her Island.—What if her ill-natured neighbours, France and Spain, should strike a blow in their absence?—In order to judge what they could all do, when they arrived here, we should consider what they are all able to do round the Island of Great Britain.—We know that the utmost vigilance and exertions of them, added to all the terrors of sanguinary Laws, are not sufficient to prevent continual smuggling into their own Island.—Are there not fifty bays, harbours, creeks, and inlets, upon the whole coast of North America, while there is one round the Island of Great Britain?—Is it to be supposed then, that the whole British Navy could prevent the importation of arms and ammunition into America?

But what will you do for discipline and subordination? I answer, we will have them in as great perfection as the regular troops.—If the Provincials were not brought in the last War to a proper discipline, what was the reason? Because regular Generals would not let them fight, which they ardently wished, but employed them in cutting roads.—If they had been allowed to fight, they would have brought the
War

War to a conclusion too soon.—The Provincials did submit to Martial Law ; and to the Mutiny and Desertion Act the last War ; and such an Act may be made here by a Legislature, which they will obey with much more alacrity than an Act of Parliament.

THE Militia are commanded through the Province, not by men who procured their commissions from a Governor, as a reward for making themselves pimps to his tools, and by discovering a hatred of the People ; but by Gentlemen, whose estates, abilities, and benevolence, have rendered them the delight of the soldiers ; and there is an esteem and respect for them visible through the Province, which has not been used in the Militia.—Nor is there that unsteadiness that is charged upon them. In some places, where Companies have been split into two or three, it has only served, by exciting an emulation between the Companies, to increase their martial spirit and skill.

IN a land War, this Continent can defend itself against all the World.—We have men enough ; and those men have as good natural understanding, and as much natural courage as any other men.—If they were wholly ignorant now, they might learn the Art of War. But at sea,

sea, we are defenceless. A Navy might burn our sea-port towns.—What then? Three hundred and fifty thousand Land-holders will not give up their Rights, and the Constitution by which they hold them, to save fifty thousand inhabitants of maritime towns.—Will the Minister be nearer his market, after he has burnt a beautiful town, and murdered thirty thousand innocent people? So far from it, that one such event would occasion the loss of all the Colonies to Great Britain for ever.—It is not so clear that our Trade, Fishery, and Navigation, could be taken from us.—Some persons, who understand this subject, are of a different opinion.—They think that our Trade would be increased. But I will not enlarge upon this subject, because I wish the Trade of this Continent may be confined to Great Britain; at least as much of it as can do her any good to restrain,

THE Canadians and Savages are brought in.—Although we are sensible that the Quebec Act has laid a foundation for a fabric which may be formidable, if not ruinous to the Colonies in future times, yet we know that these times are yet at a distance; at present we hold the power of the Canadians as nothing.—But we know their dispositions are not unfriendly to us.—The Savages will be more likely to be our friends than

than our enemies: But if they should not, we know well enough how to defend ourselves against them.

Is the three-pence upon Tea our only grievance?—Are we not in this Province deprived of the privilege of paying our Governors, Judges? &c.—Are not trials by Jury taken from us?—Are we not to be sent to England for trial?—Is not a Military Government put over us? Is not our Constitution demolished to the foundation?—Have not the Ministry shewn, by the Quebec Bill, that we have no security against them for our Religion, any more than our Property, if we once submit to the unlimited claims of Parliament?—But this is so gross an attempt to impose on the most ignorant of the people, that it is a shame to answer it.

Obsta Principiis—Nip the shoots of Arbitrary Power in the bud, is the only maxim which can ever preserve the Liberties of any People.—When the People give way, their deceivers, betrayers, and destroyers, press upon them so fast, that there is no resisting afterwards.—The nature of the encroachment upon the American Constitution is such, as to grow more and more encroaching. Like a cancer, it eats faster and faster every hour.—The Revenue creates Pensioners,

tioners, and the Pensioners urge for more Revenue. The people grow less steady, spirited, and virtuous; and the seekers more numerous and more corrupt, and every day increases the circles of their Dependants and Expectants, until virtue, integrity, public spirit, simplicity, frugality, become the objects of ridicule and scorn; and vanity, luxury, soppery, selfishness, meanness, and downright venality, swallow up the whole society.

THE present calamity seems to be nothing more nor less, than reviving the plans of Mr. Bernard and the Junto. Surely this Party are, and have been, rather unpopular.—The popular Party did not write Bernard's Letters, who so long ago pressed for the demolition of all the Charters upon the Continent, and a Parliamentary Taxation, to support Government, and the Administration of Justice in America.—The popular Party did not write Oliver's Letters, who enforces Bernard's plans; nor Hutchinson's, who pleads with all his eloquence and pathos for Parliamentary Penalties, Ministerial Vengeance, and an Abridgement of English Liberties.

THERE is not in human nature a more wonderful phenomenon, nor in the whole theory of it a more intricate speculation, than the shiftings, turnings,

turnings, windings, and evasions of a guilty conscience.

THE still ridiculous attempts of the Tories, to throw off the blame of our calamities from themselves to the Whigs, remind me of the story in the Old Testament:—When Joseph's brethren had sold him to the Ishmaelites for twenty pieces of silver, in order to conceal their own avarice, malice, and envy, they dip the coat of many colours in the blood of a kid, and say that an evil beast had rent him in pieces and devoured him.

HOWEVER, what the sons of Israel intended for ruin to Joseph, proved the salvation of the family; and I hope and believe that the Whigs will have the magnanimity, like him, to suppress their resentment, and the felicity of saving their ungrateful brothers.

THERE was never any pretence of raising a Revenue in America before the close of the war; and when the claim was first set up, it gave an alarm, like a warlike expedition against us. True it is, that some duties had been laid before by Parliament, under pretence of regulating our trade, and by a collusion and combination,

bination, between the West-India Planters and the North-American Governors, some years before, duties had been laid upon molasses, &c. under the same pretence, but in reality merely to advance the value of the estates of the Planters in the West-India Islands, and to put some plunder, under the name of Thirds of Seizures, into the pockets of the Governors.—But these duties, though more had been collected in this Province than in any other in proportion, were never regularly collected in any of the Colonies. So that the idea of an American Revenue, for one purpose or another, had never, at this time, been formed in American minds. But the Ministerial Writers say, “She, Great Britain, thought it as reasonable that the Colonies should bear part of the national burden, then, as that they should share in the national benefit.”

UPON this subject Americans have a great deal to say.—The National Debt, before the last war, was near an hundred millions. Surely America had no share in running into that debt. Where is the reason then that she should pay it?—But a small part of the sixty millions spent in the last war was for her benefit. Did not she bear her full share of the burden of the last war

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in America?—Did not this Province pay twelve shillings in the pound in taxes, for the support of it; and send a sixth or seventh part of her sons into actual service; and, at the conclusion of the war, was she not left half a million sterling in debt? Did not all the rest of New-England exert itself in proportion? What is the reason that the Massachusetts has paid its debt, and the British Minister, in fourteen years of peace, has paid so little of his?—Much of it might have been paid in this time, had not such extravagance and speculation prevailed, as ought to be an eternal warning to America, never to trust such a Minister with her money. What is the reason that the great and necessary virtues of simplicity, frugality, and œconomy, cannot live in England, Scotland and Ireland, as well as in America?

We have much more to say still. Great Britain has confined all our trade to herself.—We are willing she should, as far as it can be for the good of the Empire. But we say that we ought to be allowed as credit, in the account of public burdens and expences, so much paid in taxes, as we are obliged to sell our commodities to her cheaper than we could get for them at foreign markets. This difference is really a

tax upon us, for the good of the Empire.—We are obliged to take from Great Britain, commodities that we could purchase cheaper elsewhere. This difference is a tax upon us, for the good of the Empire. We submit to this cheerfully, but insist that we ought to have credit for it, in the account of the expences of the Empire, because it is really a tax upon us.—Another thing. I will venture a bold assertion: The three million Americans, by the tax aforesaid, upon what they are obliged to export to Great Britain only, what they are obliged to import from Great Britain only, and the quantities of British manufactures, which in these climates they are obliged to consume, more than the like number of people in any part of the three kingdoms, ultimately pay more of the taxes and duties that are apparently paid in Great Britain, than any three million subjects in the three kingdoms.—All this may be computed, and reduced to stubborn figures by the Minister, if he pleases. We cannot do it. We have not the accounts, records, &c.—Now let this account be fairly stated, and I will engage for America, upon any penalty, that she will pay the overplus, if any, in her own constitutional way, provided it is to be applied for national purposes, as paying off the
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National Debt, maintaining the Fleet, &c. not to the support of a Standing Army in time of peace, Placemen and Pensioners, &c.

BESIDES, every farthing of expence which has been incurred, on pretence of protecting, defending, and securing America, since the last war, has been worse than thrown away; it has been applied to do mischief.—Keeping an army in America, has been nothing but a public nuisance.

FURTHERMORE, we see that all the public money that is raised here, and have reason to believe all that will or can be raised, will be applied not for public purposes, national or provincial, but merely to corrupt the sons of America, and create a faction to destroy its interest and happiness.

THE authority of Parliament was never generally acknowledged in America.—More than a century since, the Massachusets and Virginia both protested against even the Act of Navigation; and refused obedience, for this very reason, because they were not represented in Parliament, and were therefore not bound—and afterwards confirmed it by their own
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Provincial Authority. And from that time to this, the general sense of the Colonies has been, that the authority of Parliament was confined to the regulation of trade, and did not extend to taxation or internal legislation.

BUT it has been said, Acts of Parliament for regulating our internal polity were familiar.—This I deny. So far otherwise, that the Hatter's Act was never regarded—the Act to destroy the Land Bank Scheme, raised a greater ferment in this Province than the Stamp Act did, which was appeased only by passing Provincial Laws directly in opposition to it.—The Act against Slitting Mills, and Tilt-hammers, never was executed here.—As to the Postage, it was so useful a regulation, so few persons paid it, and they found such a benefit by it, that little opposition was made to it; yet every man who thought about it, called it an usurpation. Duties for regulating Trade we paid, because we thought it just and necessary that they should regulate the Trade which their power protected. As for Duties for a Revenue, none were ever laid by Parliament for that purpose until 1764, when,
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and ever since, its authority to do it has been constantly denied.

THERE is ambiguity in the word Subordination. The Whigs acknowledge a Subordination to the King, in as strict and strong a sense as the Tories. The Whigs acknowledge a voluntary Subordination to Parliament, as far as the regulation of Trade. What degree of Subordination, then, do the Tories acknowledge an absolute dependance upon Parliament, as their Supreme Legislative, in all cases whatsoever, in their internal polity as well as taxation? This would be too gross; for there is nobody here who will expose his understanding so much as explicitly to adopt such a sentiment.

“THE Whigs were sensible that there was no oppression that could be seen or felt.” The Tories have so often said and wrote this to one another, that I sometimes suspect they believe it to be true: But it is quite otherwise. The Castle of the Province was taken out of their hands, and garrisoned by regular soldiers: This they could see; and they thought it indicated an hostile intention and disposition towards them. They continually paid their money to Collectors of Duties; this they could both see and feel. An host of Placemen, whose whole
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business it was to collect a Revenue, were continually rolling before them in their chariots : These they saw. Their Governor was no longer paid by themselves, according to their Charter, but out of the new Revenue, in order to render their Assemblies useless, and, indeed, contemptible. The Judges Salaries were threatened every day to be paid in the same unconstitutional manner. The dullest eye-sight could not but see to what all this tended, viz. to prepare the way for greater innovations and oppressions. They knew a Minister would never spend his money in this way, if he had not some end to answer by it. Another thing they both saw and felt ; Every man of every character, who, by voting, writing, speaking, or otherwise, had favoured the Stamp Act, the Tea Act, and every other measure of a Minister or Governor, who they knew was aiming at the destruction of their form of Government, and introducing Parliamentary Taxation, was uniformly, in some department or other, promoted to some place of honour and profit for ten years together ; and on the other hand, every man who favoured the people in their opposition to those innovations, was depressed, degraded and persecuted, as far as it was in the power of the Government to do it.

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THIS they considered as a systematical means of encouraging every man of abilities to espouse the cause of Parliamentary Taxation, and the plan of destroying their Charter Privileges; and to discourage all from exerting themselves in opposition to them. This they thought a plan to enslave them, for they uniformly think that the destruction of their Charter, making the Council and Judges wholly dependent on the Crown, and the People subject to the unlimited power of Parliament, as their supreme Legislative, is slavery. They were told that the Ministry and their Governors together, had formed a design to enslave them, and that when once this was done, they had the highest reason to expect Window-taxes, Hearth-taxes, Land-taxes, and all others. And that these were only paving the way for reducing the country to Lordships. Were the People mistaken in these suspicions? Is it not now certain, that Governor Bernard, in 1769, had formed a design of this sort? Read his Principles of Polity—and that Lieutenant Governor Oliver, as late as 1768 or 9, enforced the same plan? Read his Letters,

It is true, that the People of this country in general, and of this Province in special, have an hereditary apprehension of, and aversion to

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Lordships Temporal and Spiritual. Their ancestors fled to this wilderness to avoid them; they suffered sufficiently under them in England; and there are few of the present generation who have not been warned of the danger of them, by their fathers or grandfathers, and enjoined to oppose them.

It is curious to observe the conduct of the Tories towards the Clergy. If a Clergyman preaches against the Principles of the Revolution, and tells the People, that upon pain of damnation they must submit to an established Government, of whatever character; the Tories cry him up as an excellent man, and a wonderful preacher; invite him to their tables, procure him Missions from the Society, and Chaplainships to the Navy, and flatter him with the hopes of Lawn Sleeves. But, if a Clergyman preaches Christianity, and tells the Magistrates, that they were not distinguished from their Brethren for their private emolument, but for the good of the People; that the People are bound in conscience to obey a good Government, but are not bound to submit to one that aims at destroying all the ends of Government—Oh Sedition! Treason!

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THE Clergy in all ages and countries, and in this in particular, are disposed enough to be on the side of Government, as long as it is tolerable: If they have not been generally in the late Administrations on that side, it is a demonstration that the late Administration has been universally odious.

THE Clergy of this Province are a virtuous, sensible, and learned set of men.

It is the duty of the Clergy to accommodate their Discourses to the times; to preach against such sins as are most prevalent, and recommend such virtues as are most wanted. For example, if exorbitant ambition and venality are predominant, ought they not to warn their hearers against these vices? If public spirit is much wanted, should they not inculcate this great virtue? If the rights and duties of Christian Magistrates and Subjects are disputed, should they not explain them, shew their nature, ends, limitations and restrictions?

LET me put a supposition: Justice is a great Christian, as well as Moral Duty and Virtue, which the Clergy ought to inculcate and explain. Suppose a great man of a parish should for seven years together receive 600 pounds

sterling a year, for discharging the duties of an important Office, but during the whole time should never do one act, or take one step about it. Would not this be great injustice to the Public? And ought not the Parson of that parish to cry aloud and spare not, and shew such a bold transgressor his sins? Shew that justice was due to the Public as well as to an individual; and that cheating the Public of four thousand four hundred pounds sterling, is at least as great a sin as taking a chicken from a private hen-roost, or perhaps a watch from a fob!

WE are told, "It is an universal truth, that "he that would excite a Rebellion, is at heart "as great a Tyrant as ever wielded the iron "rod of oppression." Be it so; we are not exciting a Rebellion. Opposition, nay open, avowed resistance by arms, against usurpation and lawless violence, is not Rebellion by the law of God, or the land. Hampden, Russel, Sidney, Somers, Holt, Tillotson, Burnet, Hoadley, &c. were not tyrants nor rebels, although some of them were in arms, and the others undoubtedly excited resistance against the Tories. Remember the frank Veteran acknowledges, that "the word *Rebel* is a convertible term."

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As a charge against the Assembly of Massachusetts, it has been said, that one set of Members in Committee, had always prepared the Resolves, &c. This is not true; but if it was, what would it prove? Only that this set of men were thought by the House the fittest for that purpose. Can it ever be otherwise? Will any popular Assembly chuse its worst Members for the best services? Will an Assembly of Patriots chuse Courtiers to prepare votes against the Court? No resolves against the claims of Parliament or Administration, or the measures of the Governor (excepting those against the Stamp Act, and perhaps the answers to Governor Hutchinson's speeches upon the supremacy of Parliament) ever passed through the House, without meeting an obstacle. The Governor had, to the last hour of the House's existence, always some seekers and expectants in the House, who never failed to oppose, and offer the best arguments they could, and were always patiently heard. That the lips of the dissentients were sealed up; that they sat in silence, and beheld with regret, measures they dared not oppose, are groundless suggestions, and gross reflections upon the honour or courage of those Members. The debates of this House were public, and every man who has attended

attended the gallery, knows there never was more freedom of debate in any Assembly.

THE treatment this Province has received respecting the Agency, since Mr. Hutchinson's Administration commenced, is a flagrant example of injustice. There is no law which requires the Province to maintain any Agent in England, much less is there any reason which necessarily requires, that the three branches should join in appointment. In ordinary times, indeed, when a harmony prevails among the branches, it is well enough to have an Agent constituted by all; but in times when the foundations of the Constitution are disputed, and certainly attacked by one branch or the other, to pretend that the House ought to join the Governor in the choice, is a palpable absurdity. It is equivalent to saying, that the People shall have no Agent at all; that all communication between them and their Sovereign shall be cut off; and that there shall be no channel through which Complaints and Petitions may be conveyed to the Royal Ear; because a Governor will not concur in an Agent, whose sentiments are not like his; nor will an Agent of the Governor's appointment be likely to urge accusations against him with any diligence

gence or zeal, if the People have occasion to complain against him.

EVERY private Citizen, much more every Representative Body, have an undoubted right to petition the King; to convey such Petitions by any Agent, and to pay him for his service. Mr. Bernard, to do him justice, had so much regard to these principles, as to consent to the payment of the People's Agents, while he staid. But Mr. Hutchinson was scarcely seated in the Chair as Lieutenant Governor, before we had intelligence from England, that Lord Hillsborough told Dr. Franklin, he had a letter from Governor Hutchinson, soliciting an instruction against consenting to the salary of the Agent. Such an instruction was accordingly soon sent; and no Agent for the Board or House has received a farthing for services since that time, although Dr. Franklin and Mr. Bollan have taken much pains, and one of them expended considerable sums of money. There is a meanness in this play that would disgrace a gambler: A manifest fear that the truth should be known to the Sovereign or the People.—Many persons have thought, that the Province ought to have dismissed all Agents from that time, as useless and nugatory; this behaviour amounting to a declaration, that we had no
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chance or hopes of Justice from such a Minister.

BUT this Province, at least as meritorious as any, has been long accustomed to indignities and injustice, and to bear both with unparalleled patience: Others have pursued the same method before and since, but we have never heard that their Agents are unpaid. They would scarcely have borne it with so much resignation.

NERO murdered Seneca, that he might pull up virtue by the roots; and the same maxim governs the Scribblers and Speechifiers on the side of the Minister. It is sufficient to discover, that any man has abilities and integrity, a love of virtue and liberty; he must be run down at all events. Witness Pitt, Franklin, and too many others.

FROM the date of our Charter, to the time of the Stamp Act, and indeed since that time (notwithstanding the misrepresentations of our Charter-constitution, as too popular and republican) the Council of this Province have been generally on the side of the Governor and the Prerogative. For the truth of this, I appeal to our whole history and experience. The art
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and power of Governors, and especially the negative, have been a stronger motive on the one hand, than the annual election of the two Houses on the other.—In disputes between the Governor and the House, the Council have generally adhered to the former, and in many cases have complied with his humour, when scarcely any Council by Mandamus upon this Continent would have done it.

BUT in the time of the Stamp Act, it was found productive of many mischiefs and dangers, to have Officers of the Crown, who were dependant on the Ministry, and Judges of the Superior Court, whose offices were thought incompatible with a voice in the Legislature, Members of Council.

IN May 1765, Lieutenant Governor Hutchinson, Secretary Oliver, and Mr. Belcher, were Officers of the Crown; the Judges of the Superior Court, and some other Gentlemen who held commissions under the Governor, were Members of Council. Mr. Hutchinson was Chief Justice and a Judge of Probate for the first county, as well as Lieutenant Governor and a Counsellor; too many offices for the greatest and best man in the world to hold, too much business for any man to do; besides that, these offices were frequently
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clashing and interfering with each other.—Two other Justices of the Superior Court were Counsellors, and nearly and closely connected with him by family alliances.—One other Justice was Judge of Admiralty during pleasure.—Such a jumble of offices never got together before in any English Government. It was found, in short, that the famous Triumvirate, Bernard, Hutchinson, and Oliver, the ever-memorable, secret, confidential Letter-writers, had by degrees, and before the People were aware of it, erected a Tyranny in the Province. Bernard had all the executive, and a negative in the Legislative: Hutchinson and Oliver had elevated to the Board such a collection of Crown Officers, and their own relations, as to have too much influence there: And they had three of a family on the Superior Bench, which is the Supreme Tribunal in all causes civil and criminal, vested with all the powers of the King's Bench, Common Pleas, and Exchequer, which gave them power over every act of this Court. This Junta, therefore, had the legislative and executive in their controul, and more natural influence over the judicial, than is ever to be trusted in any set of men in the world. The Public, accordingly, found all these springs and wheels in the Constitution set in motion to promote submission to the Stamp Act, and to discountenance resistance

resistance to it; and they thought they had a violent presumption, that they would for ever be employed to encourage a compliance with all Ministerial measures, and Parliamentary claims, of whatever character they might be.

THE designs of the Junto, however, were concealed as carefully as possible. Most persons were jealous; few were certain. When the Assembly met in May 1766, after the Stamp Act was repealed, the Whigs flattered themselves with hopes of peace and liberty for the future. Mr. Otis, whose abilities and integrity, whose great exertions, and most exemplary sacrifices of his private interest to the public service, had intitled him to all the promotion which the People could bestow, was chosen Speaker of the House. Bernard negatived the choice. It can scarcely be conceived by a stranger, what an alarm this manœuvre gave to the Public. It was thought equivalent to a declaration, that although the People had been so successful as to obtain a repeal of the Stamp Act, yet they must not hope to be quiet long, for Parliament, by the Declaratory Act, had asserted its Supreme Authority, and new taxations and regulations, should be made; and every man who should dare to oppose such

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projects, let his powers or virtues, his family or fortune be what they would, should be surely cut off from all hopes of advancement. The Electors thought it high time to be upon their guard. All the foregoing reasons and motives prevailed with the Electors; and the Crown Officers, and Justices of the Superior Court, were left out of Council in the new choice.—Those who were elected in their places were all negatived by Bernard, which was considered as a fresh proof, that the Junto still persevered in their designs of obtaining a Revenue.

“ THE Governor,” say Ministerial Writers, “ could do little or nothing without the Council, by the Charter,”—“ If he called upon a Military Officer to raise the Militia,—he was answered, they were there already, &c.” The Council, by the Charter, had nothing to do with the Militia. The Governor alone had all authority over them. The Council, therefore, are not to blame for their conduct. If the Militia refused obedience to the Captain General, or his subordinate Officers, when commanded to assist in carrying into execution the Stamp Act, or in dispersing those who were opposing it, does not this prove the universal sense
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and resolution of the People not to submit to it? Did not a regular army do more to James the Second? If those over whom the Governor had the most absolute authority and decisive influence, refused obedience, does not this shew how deeply rooted in all mens minds were the abhorrence of that power which was usurping over them?—" If he called upon the Council " for their assistance, they must first enquire " into the cause." An unpardonable crime, no doubt! But is it the duty of a middle branch of legislature, to do as the first shall command them implicitly, or to judge for themselves? Is it the duty of a Privy Council to understand the subject before they give advice, or only to lend their names to any Edict, in order to make it less unpopular? It would be a shame to answer such observations as these, if it was not for their wickedness. Our Council, all along, however, did as much as any Council could have done. Was the Mandamus Council at New-York able to do more, to influence the People to a submission to the Stamp Act? Was the Chair, the Board, the Septennial House, with the assistance of General Gage and his troops, able to do more in that City, than our Branches did in this Province? Not one iota. Nor could Bernard, his Council, and House, if they

they had been unanimous, have induced submission. The People would have spurned them all, for they are not to be wheedled out of their Liberties by their own representatives, any more than by strangers. "If he wrote to Government at home to strengthen his hands, some officious persons procured and sent back his letters." At last it seems to be acknowledged, that the Governor did write for a military force, to strengthen Government, Ford what? To enable it to enforce Stamp Acts, Tea Acts, and other internal regulations, the authority of which the People were determined never to acknowledge.

But what a pity it was, that these worthy Gentlemen could not be allowed, from the dearest affection to their native country, to which they had every possible attachment, to go on in profound confidential secrecy, procuring troops to cut our throats, Acts of Parliament to drain our purses, destroy our Charters and Assemblies, getting estates and dignities for themselves and their own families, and all the while most devoutly professing to be friends to our Charter, enemies to parliamentary taxation, and to all pensions, without being detected! How happy! If they could
have

have annihilated all our Charters, and yet have been beloved, nay deified by the People, as friends and advocates for their Charters. What masterly Politicians! To have made themselves Nobles for life, and yet have been thought very sorry that the two Houses were deprived of the privilege of chusing the Council. How sagacious, to get large pensions for themselves, and yet be thought to mourn, that pensions and venality were introduced into the country! How sweet and pleasant! To have been the most popular men in the community, for being staunch and zealous Dissenters, true-blue Calvinists, and able advocates for public virtue and popular government, after they had introduced an American Episcopate, universal corruption among the leading men, and deprived the People of all share in their Supreme Legislative Council! I mention an Episcopate, for although I do not know that Governors Hutchinson and Oliver ever directly solicited for Bishops, yet they must have seen, that these would have been one effect very soon, of establishing the unlimited authority of Parliaments.

I agree, that it was not the persons of Bernard, Hutchinson, or Oliver, that made them obnoxious, but their principles and practices.

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And

And I will agree, that if Chatham, Camden, and St Asaph, (I beg pardon for introducing these revered names into such company, and for making a supposition which is absurd) had been here, and prosecuted such schemes, they would have met with contempt and execration from this People. But, when it is said, "That had the intimations in those Letters been attended to, we had now been as happy a People as good Government could make us;" it is too gross to make us angry. We can do nothing but smile.—Have not these intimations been attended to? Have not fleets and armies been sent here, whenever they were requested? Have not Governors, Lieutenant-Governors, Secretaries, Judges, Attorney-Generals, and Solicitor-Generals salaries, been paid out of the revenues as they solicited? Have not taxes been laid and continued? Have not English Liberties been abridged as Hutchinison desired? Have not "penalties of another kind" been inflicted, as he desired? Has not our Charter been destroyed, and the Council put into the King's hands, as Bernard requested?—In short, almost all the wild pranks of this desperate Triumvirate have been attended to and adopted, and we are now as miserable as tyranny can make us.

THAT

THAT Mr. Hutchinson was amiable and exemplary in some respects, and very unamiable and unexemplary in others, is a certain truth; otherwise he never would have retained so much popularity on the one hand, nor made so pernicious a use of it on the other. His behaviour, in several important departments, was with ability and integrity, in cases which did not affect his political system; but he bent all his offices to that. Had he continued steadfast to those Principles in Religion and Government, which in his former life he professed, and which alone had procured him the confidence of the People, and all his importance, he would have lived and died respected and beloved, and have done honour to his native country; but by renouncing these principles, and that conduct which had made him and all his Ancestors respectable, his character is now considered by all America, and the best part of the three kingdoms, notwithstanding the countenance he receives from the Ministry, as a reproach to the Province that gave him birth, as a man who by all his actions aimed at making himself great, at the expence of the Liberties of his native country.—This Gentleman was open to flattery in so remarkable a degree, that any man who would flatter him was sure of his friendship, and every one who would not was sure of his enmity.—He

was credulous, in a ridiculous degree, of every thing that favoured his own plans; and equally incredulous of every thing which made against them.—His natural abilities, which have been greatly exaggerated by persons whom he had advanced to power, were far from being of the first rate.—His industry was prodigious.—His knowledge lay chiefly in the laws, and politics, and history of this Province, in which he had a long experience. Yet with all his advantages, he never was master of the true character of his native country, not even of New England and the Massachusetts Bay.—Through the whole troublesome period since the last war, he manifestly mistook the temper, principles, and opinions of this People. He had resolved upon a System, and never could or would see the impracticability of it.

It is very true that all his abilities, virtues, interests, and connections, were insufficient; but for what? To prevail on the People to acquiesce in the mighty claim of Parliamentary Authority?—The Constitution was not gone. The suggestion that it was, is a vile slander. It had as much vigour as ever, and even the Governor had as much power as ever, excepting in cases which affected that claim.—“The spirit,” say the Ministerial Writers, “was truly republican.”

“ can.” It was not so, in any one case what ever, any further than the spirit of the British Constitution is republican.—Even in the grand fundamental Dispute, the People arranged themselves under their House of Representatives and Council, with as much order as ever, and conducted their opposition as much by the Constitution as ever. It is true, their Constitution was employed against the measures of the Junto, which created their enmity to it.—However, I have not such an horror of a republican spirit, which is a spirit of true virtue, and honest independence; I do not mean on the King, but on Men in Power. This spirit is so far from being incompatible with the British Constitution, that it is the greatest glory of it; and the Nation has always been most prosperous when it has most prevailed, and been most encouraged by the Crown. I wish it increased in every part of the world, especially in America; and I think the measures the Tories are now pursuing, will increase it to a degree that will insure us in the end Redress of Grievances, and an happy Reconciliation with Great Britain.

“ GOVERNOR Hutchinson,” we are told, strove to convince us, by the principles of Government, our Charters, and Acknowledg-
 K 2 “ ments,

“ ments, that our Claims were inconsistent with
 “ the Subordination due to Great Britain.”

SUFFER me to introduce here a little History. In 1764, when the System of taxing and new modelling the Colonies was first apprehended, Lieutenant Governor Hutchinson's friends struggled in several successive Sessions of the General Court, to get him chosen Agent for the Province at the Court of Great Britain. At this time he declared freely, “ That he was of the same
 “ sentiment with the People, that Parliament
 “ had no right to tax them; but differed from
 “ the Country Party only in his opinion of the
 “ policy of denying that Right in their Peti-
 “ tions, &c.”—I would not injure him; I was told this by three Gentlemen who were of the Committee of both Houses to prepare that Petition, that he made this declaration explicitly before that Committee. I have been told by other Gentlemen, that he made the same declaration to them. It is possible that he might make use of expressions studied for the purpose, which would not strictly bear this construction. But it is certain, that they understood him so, and that this was the general opinion of his sentiments until he came to the Chair,

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THE Country Party saw that this aspiring genius aimed at keeping fair with the Ministry, by supporting their measures; and with the People, by pretending to be of our principles; and between both to trim himself up to the Chair. The only reason why he did not obtain an election at one time, and was excused from the service at another, after he had been chosen by a small Majority, was, because the Members knew he would not openly deny the right, and assure his Majesty, the Parliament, and Ministry, that the People never would submit to it. For the same reason he was left out of Council. But he continued to cultivate his popularity, and to maintain a general opinion among the People, that he denied the right in his private judgment; and this idea preserved most of those who continued their esteem for him.

BUT upon Bernard's removal, and his taking the Chair as Lieutenant Governor, he had no further expectations from the People, nor complaisance for their opinions. In one of his first speeches he took care to advance the Supreme Authority of Parliament. This astonished many of his friends. They were heard to say, "We have been deceived. We thought he had been abused; but we now find what has been

been said of him is true. He is determined to join in the designs against this country."—After his promotion to the Government, finding that the People had little confidence in him, and shewing that he had no interest at home to support him, but what he had acquired by joining with Bernard, he determined to strike a bold stroke, and, in a formal speech to both Houses, become a Champion for the unbounded Authority of Parliament over the Colonies. This he thought would lay the Ministry under an obligation to support him in the Government, or else to provide for him out of it; not considering, that stating that question before that Assembly, and calling upon them as he did to dispute with him upon it, was scattering firebrands, arrows, and death, in sport,

THE House thus called upon, either to acknowledge the unlimited Authority of Parliament, or confute his arguments, were bound by their duty to God, their Country and Posterity, to give him a full and explicit answer.—They proved incontestibly, that he was out in his facts, inconsistent with himself, and in every principle of his law he had committed a blunder. And although this country has suffered severe calamities in consequence of this speech,

yet

yet I hope they will not be durable; but his ruin was certainly in part owing to it:—Nothing ever opened the eyes of the People so much to his designs, excepting his Letters. If it was out of his power to do us any more injuries, I should wish to forget the past; but as there is reason to fear he is still to continue his labours against this country, although he is out of our fight, he ought not to be out of our minds.—This country has every thing to fear, in the present state of the British Court, while the Lords Bute, Mansfield, and North, have the principal conduct of affairs, from the intrigues of that man.

WE are then told “that Disaffection to Great Britain was infused into the Body of the People.” The leading Whigs have ever systematically, and upon principle, endeavoured to preserve the People from all disaffection to the King on the one hand, and the Body of the People on the other; but to lay the blame where it is justly due, on the Ministry and their instruments.

WE are next conducted into the Superior Court, and informed “that the Judges were dependent on the annual grants of the General”
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“ neral Court ; that their salaries were small in
 “ proportion to the salaries of other Officers of
 “ less importance ; that they often petitioned
 “ the Assembly to enlarge them, without suc-
 “ cess, and were reminded of their depend-
 “ ence ; that they remained unshaken amid the
 “ raging tempests, which is to be attributed
 “ rather to their firmness than situation.”

THAT the salaries were small, must be allowed ;
 but not smaller in proportion than those of other
 Officers. All salaries in this Province have been
 small. It has been the policy of the country
 to keep them so ; not so much from a spirit of
 parsimony, as an opinion, that the service of the
 Public ought to be an honorary, rather than a
 lucrative employment ; and that the great men
 ought to be obliged to set examples of simpli-
 city and frugality before the People.

BUT if we consider things maturely, and make
 allowance for all circumstances, I think the
 country may be vindicated. This Province,
 during the last war, had such overbearing bur-
 dens upon it, that it was necessitated to eco-
 nomy in every thing. At the peace she was half
 a million sterling in debt. She thought it the
 best policy, to get out of debt before she raised
 the

the wages of her servants, and if Great Britain had thought as wisely, she would not now have had one hundred and forty millions to pay, and she would never have thought of taxing America.

Low as the wages were, it was found that whenever a vacancy happened, the place was solicited with much more anxiety and zeal than the kingdom of Heaven.

ANOTHER cause which had its effect was this: The Judges of that Court had almost always enjoyed some other office. At the time of the Stamp Act, the Chief Justice was Lieutenant Governor, which yielded him a profit; and a Judge of Probate for the County of Suffolk, which yielded him another profit; and a Counsellor, which, if it was not very profitable, gave him an opportunity of promoting his family and friends to other profitable offices; an opportunity which the country saw he most religiously improved. Another Justice of this Court was a Judge of Admiralty; and another was Judge of Probate for the County of Plymouth. The People thought, therefore, that as their time was not wholly taken up by their Offices, as Judges of the Superior Court, there

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was

was no reason why they should be paid as much as if it had been.

ANOTHER reason was this : Those Justices had not been bred to the Bar, but taken from Merchandize, Husbandry, and other occupations ; had been at no great expence for education or libraries ; and therefore the People thought that equity did not demand large salaries.

WHETHER all these arguments were sufficient to vindicate the People for not enlarging their salaries, I shall leave to you, my friends, whose right it is, to judge.—But that the Judges petitioned “ often ” to the Assembly, I don’t remember. I knew it was suspected by many, and confidently affirmed by some, that Judge Russell carried home with him in 1766, a Petition to his Majesty, subscribed by himself and Chief Justice Hutchinson at least, praying his Majesty to take the payment of the Judges into his own hands ; and that this Petition, together with the solicitations of Governor Bernard, and others, had the success to procure the Act of Parliament, to enable his Majesty to appropriate the Revenue to the support of the Administration of Justice, &c. from whence a great part of the present calamities of America have flowed.

THAT

THAT the high Whigs took care to get themselves chosen of the Grand Juries, I do not believe. Nine tenths of the People were high Whigs; and therefore it was not easy to get a Grand Jury without nine Whigs in ten in it. And the matter would not be much mended by the new Act of Parliament. The Sheriff must return the same set of Jurors, Court after Court, or else his Juries would be nine tenths of them high Whigs still.—Indeed the Tories are so envenomed with malice, envy, rage, and disappointed ambition, that they would be willing, for what I know, to be Jurors for life, in order to give verdicts against the Whigs.—And many of them would readily do it, I doubt not, without any other law or evidence, than what they found in their own breasts. The suggestion of Legerdemain, in drawing the names of Petit Jurors out of the box, is scandalous. Human wisdom cannot devise a method of obtaining Petit Jurors more fairly, and better secured against a possibility of corruption of any kind, than that established by our Provincial Law. They were drawn by chance out of a box, in open Town Meeting, to which the Tories went, or might have gone, as well as the Whigs, and have seen, with their own eyes, that nothing unfair ever did or could take place. If the Jurors consisted of

Whigs, it was because the Freeholders were Whigs; that is, honest men.

“THE Judges pointed out seditious libels, on Governors, Magistrates, and the whole Government, to no effect. They did so, —But the Jurors thought some of these no libels, but solemn truths. At one time I have heard that all the news-papers for several years, the Massachusetts Gazette, Massachusetts Spy, &c. were laid before a Grand Jury at once. The Jurors thought there were multitudes of libels written by the Tories, and they did not know who they should attack if they presented them; perhaps Governor Bernard, Lieutenant Governor Hutchinson, Secretary Oliver—possibly the Attorney General.—They saw so many difficulties—they knew not what to do.

“WE are told, the Whigs once flattered themselves they should be able to divide the Province between them.” I suppose it is meant, that they should be able to get the honourable and lucrative Offices of the Province into their hands. If this was true, they would be chargeable with only designing what the Tories have actually done; with this difference, that the Whigs would have done it by saving the

the Liberties and the Constitution of the Province—whereas the Tories have done it by the destruction of both.

WITH regard to the Tea, the case is shortly this : The East-India Company, by their Contract with Government, in their Charter and Statute, are bound, in consideration of their important profitable privileges, to pay to the public Treasury a revenue, annually, of four hundred thousand pounds sterling, so long as they can hold up their dividends at twelve per cent. and no longer.

THE mistaken policy of the Ministry, in obstinately persisting in their claim of Right to Tax America, and refusing to repeal the duty on tea, with those on glass, paper, and paint, had induced all America, except a few Merchants in Boston, most of whom were closely connected with the Junto, to refuse to import tea from Great Britain ; the consequence of which was a kind of stagnation in the affairs of the Company, and an immense accumulation of tea in their stores, which they could not sell. This, among other causes, contributed to affect their credit, and their dividends were on the point of falling below twelve per cent. and consequently the Government was upon the point of losing

losing 400,000 l. sterling a year of revenue.—
 The Company solicited the Ministry to take off
 the duty in America; but they adhering to
 their plan of Taxing the Colonies, and establish-
 ing a precedent, framed an Act to enable the
 Company to send their tea directly to America.
 This was admired as a master-piece of policy.
 It was thought they would accomplish four
 great purposes at once; establish their pre-
 cedent of taxing America; raise a large revenue
 there by the duties; save the credit of the
 Company, and the 400,000 l. to the Govern-
 ment. The Company, however, were so little
 pleased with this, that there were great debates
 among the Directors, whether they should
 risque it, which were finally determined by a
 majority of one only, and that one the Chair-
 man; being unwilling, it is said, to interfere in
 the dispute between the Minister and the Co-
 lonies, and uncertain what the result would
 be; and this small majority was not obtained,
 as it is said, until a sufficient intimation was
 given that the Company should not be losers.

WHEN these designs were made known, it
 appeared, that American Politicians were not
 to be deceived; that their fight was as quick
 and clear as the Minister's; and that they were
 as steady to their purpose, as he was to his.

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This

This was thought by all the Colonies to be the precise point of time when it became absolutely necessary to make a stand. If the tea should be landed, it would be sold ; if sold, the duties would amount to a large sum, which would be instantly applied to increase the friends and advocates for more duties, and to divide the People ; and the Company would get such a footing, that no opposition afterwards could ever be effectual. And as soon as the duties on tea should be established, they would be ranked among Post-office fees, and other precedents, and used as arguments both of the right and expediency of laying on others, perhaps on all the necessities, as well as conveniences and luxuries of life. The whole Continent was united in the sentiment, that all opposition to parliamentary taxation must be given up for ever, if this critical moment was neglected. Accordingly, New-York and Philadelphia determined that the ships should be sent back ; and Charlestown, that the tea should be stored and locked up ;—this was attended with no danger in that city, because they are fully united in sentiment and affection, and have no Junto to perplex them. Boston was under great difficulties.—The Consignees at New-York and Philadelphia most readily resigned.—The Consignees at Boston, the children,

dren, cousins, and most intimate connections of Governor Hutchinson, refused. I am very sorry that I cannot stir a single step in developing the causes of my country's miseries, without stumbling upon this Gentleman. But so it is. From the near relation, and most intimate connection of the Consignees with him, there is great cause of jealousy, if not a violent presumption, that he was at the bottom of all this business; that he had planned it, in his Confidential Letters with Bernard, and both of them joined in suggesting and recommending it to the Ministry. Without this supposition, it is difficult to account for the obstinacy with which the Consignees refused to resign, and the Governor to let the vessel go. However this might be, Boston is the only place upon the Continent, perhaps in the world, which ever breeds a species of Misanthropos, who will persist in their schemes for their private interest, with such obstinacy, in opposition to the public good; disoblige all their fellow citizens for a little self; and make themselves odious and infamous, when they might be respected and esteemed. It must be said, however, in vindication of the Town, that this breed is spawned chiefly by the Junto—The Consignees would not resign; the Custom-house refused clearances; Governor Hutchinson refused passes

by

by the Castle. The question then was, with many, whether the Governor, Officers and Consignees should be compelled to send the ships hence? An army and navy was at hand, and bloodshed was apprehended. At last, when the Continent as well as the Town and Province, were waiting the issue of this deliberation with the utmost anxiety, a number of persons, in the night, put them out of suspense, by an oblation to Neptune.

“ THE revenue was not the consideration before Parliament.” Let who will it. But if it was not, the danger to America was the same. I take no notice of the idea of a monopoly. If it had been only a monopoly (though in this light it would have been a grievance) it would not have excited, nor in the opinion of any one, justified the step that was taken. It was an attack upon a fundamental principle of the Constitution, and upon that supposition was resisted, after multitudes of petitions to no purpose; and because there was no tribunal in the Constitution, from whence redress could have been obtained.

ALL men are convinced that it was impracticable to return the tea, and rendered so by Mr. Hutchinson and the Boston Consignees.

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Whether

Whether to have stored it would have answered the end, or been a less mischief than drowning it, I shall leave to the judgment of the Public. The other Colonies, it seems, have no scruples about it; for we find that whenever tea arrives in any of them, whether from the East India Company, or any other quarter, it never fails to share the fate of that in Boston. All men will agree, that such steps ought not to be taken, but in cases of absolute necessity, and that such necessity must be very clear. But most people in America now think, the destruction of the Boston tea was absolutely necessary, and therefore right and just. It is very true, they say, if the whole People had been united in sentiment, and equally stable in their resolution, not to buy or drink it, there might have been a reason for preserving it; but the People here were not so virtuous or so happy. The British Ministry had plundered the People by illegal taxes, and applied the money in salaries and pensions, by which devices they had insidiously attached to their party, no inconsiderable number of persons, some of whom were of family, fortune, and influence, though many of them were of desperate fortunes; each of whom, however, had his circle of friends, connections and dependants, who were determined to drink tea, both as evidence of their servility to Administration,

tion, and their contempt and hatred of the People. These it was impossible to restrain without violence, perhaps bloodshed; certainly without hazarding more than the tea was worth. To this tribe of the *wicked*, they say, must be added another, perhaps more numerous, of the *weak*, who never could be brought to think of the consequences of their actions, but would gratify their appetites, if they could come at the means. What numbers are there in every Community, who have no providence or prudence in their private affairs, but will go on indulging the present appetite, prejudice or passion, to the ruin of their estates and families, as well as their own health and characters! How much larger is the number of those who have no foresight for the Public, or consideration of the freedom of posterity! Such an abstinence from the tea, as would have avoided the establishment of a precedent, depended on the unanimity of the People—a felicity that was unattainable. Must the wise, the virtuous, and worthy part of the Community, who constituted a very great majority, surrender their liberty, and involve their posterity in misery, in complaisance to a detestable, though small party of knaves, and a despicable, though more numerous company of fools?

In Boston could have been treated like other places,—like New-York and Philadelphia, the tea might have gone home from thence as it did from those cities.—That inveterate, desperate Junto, to whom we owe all our calamities, were determined to hurt us in this, as in all other cases, as much as they could. It is to be hoped they will one day repent, and be forgiven; but it is very hard to forgive without repentance. When the news of this event arrived in England, it excited such passions in the Minister as nothing could restrain; his resentment was kindled into revenge, rage and madness; his veracity was piqued, as his masterpiece of Policy proved but a bubble: The bantling was the fruit of a favourite amour, and no wonder that his natural affection was touched, when he saw it dispatched before his eyes.—His grief and ingenuity, if he had any, were affected at the thought that he had misled the East India Company, so much nearer to destruction, and that he had rendered the breach between the Kingdom and the Colonies almost irreconcilable; his shame was excited because Opposition had gained a triumph over him, and the three kingdoms were laughing at him for his obstinacy and his blunders: Instead of relieving the Company, he had hastened its ruin: Instead of establishing the absolute and unlimited

sovereignty

sovereignty of Parliament over the Colonies, he had excited a more decisive denial of it, and resistance to it.—An election drew nigh, and he dreaded the resentment even of the corrupted electors.

IN this state of mind, bordering on despair, he determines to strike a bold stroke. By attacking all the Colonies together, by the Stamp Act, and the Paint and Glass Act, they had been defeated. The Charter Constitution of the Massachusetts Bay had contributed greatly to both these defeats.—Their Representatives were too numerous, and too frequently elected, to be corrupted; their People had been used to consider affairs in their Town-meetings: Their Counsellors were not absolutely at the nod of a Minister or Governor; but were, once a year, equally dependant on the Governor and the two Houses.—Their Grand Jurors were elective by the People; their Petit Jurors were returned merely by lot. The Junta rightly judged, that by this Constitution the People had a check on every branch of power; and therefore, as long as it lasted, Parliamentary Taxations, &c. could never be enforced.

BERNARD publishes his Select Letters, and his Principles of Polity: Hireling Garretteers were

were employed to scribble millions of lies against us, in pamphlets and news-papers; and Setters employed in the coffee-houses, to challenge or knock down all the advocates for the poor Massachusetts.—It was now determined, instead of attacking the Colonies together, though they had all been equally opposed to the plans of the Ministry, and the claims of Parliament, and therefore, upon ministerial principles, equally guilty, to handle them one by one; and to begin with Boston and the Massachusetts. The destruction of the tea was a fine event for scribblers and speechifiers to declaim upon; and there was an hereditary hatred of New England, in the minds of many people in England, on account of her non-conforming principles.—It was likewise thought there was a similar jealousy and animosity in the other Colonies against New England; that they would therefore certainly desert her; that she would be intimidated, and submit; and then the Minister, among his own friends, would acquire immortal honour, as the most able, skilful, and undaunted statesman of the age.

THE Port Bill, Charter Bill, Murder Bill, Quebec Bill, making all together such a frightful system as would have terrified any People
who

who did not prefer liberty to life, were all concerted at once: But all this art and violence have not succeeded. This People, under great trials and dangers, have discovered great abilities and virtues, and that nothing is so terrible to them as the loss of their liberties.—If these arts and violences are persisted in, and still greater concerted and carried on against them, the world will see that their fortitude, patience, and magnanimity, will rise in proportion.

THE Whigs saw their ruin connected with a compliance with the terms of opening the Port.—They saw the ruin of their Country connected with such a compliance, and their own involved in it: But they might have easily voted a compliance, for they were undoubtedly a vast majority, and have enjoyed the esteem and affection of their fellow slaves to their last hours: Several of them could have paid for the tea, and never have felt the loss.—They knew they must suffer vastly more than the tea was worth; but they thought they acted for America and posterity, and that they ought not to take such a step without the advice of the Colonies.—They have declared our cause their own—that they never will submit to a precedent in any part of the United Colonies, by
which

which Parliament may take away wharfs and other lawful estates, or demolish charters; for if they do, they have a moral certainty, that in the course of a few years, every right of Americans will be taken away, and Governors and Councils, holding at the will of a Minister, will be the only Legislatives in the Colonies.

If we recollect how many States have lost their liberties, merely from want of communication with each other, and union among themselves, we shall think that the Committees of Correspondence may be intended by Providence to accomplish great events. What the eloquence and talents of Demosthenes could not effect, among the States of Greece, might have been effected by so simple a device. Castile, Arragon, Valencia, Majorca, &c. all complained of oppression under Charles the Fifth; flew out into transports of rage, and took arms against him—But they never consulted or communicated with each other.—They resisted separately, and were separately subdued. Had Don Juan Padilla, or his wife, been possessed of the genius to invent a Committee of Correspondence, perhaps the Liberties of the Spanish Nation might have remained to this hour.

THE

THE People are told, that "they have been
 " infidiously taught to believe that Great Bri-
 " tain is rapacious, cruel, and vindictive, and
 " envies us the inheritance purchased by the
 " sweat and blood of our ancestors." The
 People do not believe this—they will not be-
 lieve it: On the contrary, they believe if it was
 not for scandals constantly transmitted from this
 Province by the Tories, the Nation would re-
 dress our grievances.—Nay, as little as they
 reverence the Ministry, they even believe that
 the Lords North, Mansfield and Bute, would
 relieve them, and would have done it long ago,
 if they had known the truth.—The moment
 this is done, "Long live our gracious King,
 " and happiness to Britain!" will resound from
 one end of the Province to the other: But it
 requires a very little foresight to determine,
 that no other plan of governing the Province
 and the Colonies, will ever restore a harmony
 between the two countries, but desisting from
 the plan of taxing them, and interfering with
 their internal concerns, and returning to that
 system of Colony Administration, which nature
 dictated, and experience for one hundred and
 fifty years found useful.



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